

/128 cont./

241 In such a system, the privative appropriation comes down,
423 according to the modes peculiar to the irrigation, to the most
passionate individuation of the work and of the feeling, of the
trouble and of the persistence of the man, therefore, of his
rights. Completely to the contrary, the dry cultivations, ex-
[184] tensive and intermittent, are done in the mucha^c or muchd^c, a
type of collective. But these two types together contrast with
the disposal of the forest or pasture, regulated only by political
rights and the international balance. Nevertheless, within the ir-
rigated ground itself, an order regulates the parcellary distribu-
tion. Qualifications of birth and of kinship are more essential
here than boundaries and, one might say, than the compost itself.
This plot, almost bare of matter, acts as and above all counts as
the illustration of civil status.

178 This perhaps explains the tenacity of this man with his com-
plications, with his deficient methods. Everything takes place,
on this historical mole of the old, sedentary civilizations of the
Maghreb, as if a peasant society were seeking, in the economic
paradox, the exercise of itself.

Magic or Technique?

241 Human work does not only have to reckon with the resources
789 or the resistance of the milieu. Beyond the waters, the soils, the
plants, it must reckon with a benevolent or malevolent power,
diffused in things or being specified in figures. And the apprecia-
tion entertained for the activity of the peasant group will be very
different according to the scope of spontaneity, of conscious
bearing, and of efficacy that it arrogates to itself in relation to
the invisible friends or adversaries, and according to the degree
of existence that it recognizes for them. There has been a great
deal of insistence in Moroccan ethnology on the "magic" char-
acter of /129/ the agriculture. In this regard the work of E.
114 Laoust offers a store of information. The "mort du champ"
241 /death of the field/ and many other ritual deeds are described
789 there, with reference, if not to the Seksawa, at least to the
nearby Mtugga, among whom characteristic harvest-customs have

/129 cont./

114 been noted. The necessity of restoring to the soil its energy, its
241 baraka, to expulse or to keep away from it the evil forces --
789 these "deux pôles de la croyance populaire" /two poles of popular
belief/ -- animate rites and ceremonies which "constituent, en
définitive, le fond de la vie berbère dans tous ses domaines"
/ constitute definitively the foundation of Berber life in all its
domains/ (1).

1. E. Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Ber-
ber words and things/, 1920, p. 321.

A serious hypothesis, which this is neither the place, nor the
object of this study, to infirm or confirm. Imbued with the then
recent theories of Frazer, following the book by Douffé on Magie
et Religion /Magic and Religion/, which was the first attempt
and the master stroke of this sort of investigation in the Maghreb,
the inquiry by E. Laoust also has merit because of the linguistic
curiosity and an ethnologists's intuition, which remain models.
But on this second level it has hardly been continued. All motives
of individuals aside, there is something a little disturbing there.
It can be said in one sense that these interpretations, to which it
is necessary to add, for Morocco, those of Westermarck and some
of those of H. Basset, constituted an end point (2).

2. The book by Laoust appeared in 1920.
That of Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in
Morocco, in 1926; that of H. Basset, Le
culte des grottes au Maroc /The cult of caves
in Morocco/, in 1920.

They have inspired in younger researchers admiration, defiance,
and lassitude at the same time. A result undoubtedly regrettable.
If there is little chance of adding, in Moroccan matters, dis-
coveries other than detail to those of these great seniors, certain
problems are posed, hardly touched upon up until now, and which
a critique, were it immodest, would at least have the merit of

/129 cont./

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789 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.

• 789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists, are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the opening of the tillage at Bwabbûr generally practiced, or does it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

[776] /130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest, in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific [778] [787] ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language, one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

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789 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for

/130 cont./

114 example, it must be confessed that an analysis preoccupied above
121 all with morphology, like ours, quite systematically omits the
789 "magic" aspect of Maghrebi affairs. But, on the one hand, the
acceptation of Laoust is much broader, and means all at the same
time magic in the strict sense, religion, and folklore. On the
other hand, if many of the facts that it embraces are only guilty
of having been interpreted without a statistical context, they
nonetheless exist. That is already a great deal. Would to God
that the collection had been increased since Westermarck and
E. Laoust with the same élan that animated these great explorers!
Subsequent developments that will be devoted to the religious and
juridical structures of the Seksawa will close up these distinctions.
But here and now, and although, once again, the discussion of the
Frazer thesis applied to Maghrebi phenomena is not our purpose,
it is necessary to dispose of it, as evocative (or creative) of a
partial, but incontestable verity of atmosphere, as it assuredly
merits in any description of rural life.

805 In all of North Africa, the "tasks and the days" are ordered
171 according to a double division of the year into months of the
Julian calendar, with curiously Latin names, and into "mansions,"
manâzil, of thirteen days each, based on astrology (1).

1. This is in any case an extremely ancient
genre in the Mussulman Occident. Cf.
H. -P. -J. Renaud, Le calendrier d'Ibn al-
Bannâ de Marrakech (1256-1321), 1948, more-
over on a Cordova prototype and, it seems,
without reference /this footnote is continued
on the next page in the original source/ to the
Maghreb. Cf. also Joly, Arch. mar., III,
1905, pp. 300 sq. Léon, Description de
l'Afrique, Schefer, t. I, pp. 112 sq.

The generality of this belief in the manâzil
is attested by the fact that a small treatise de-
voted to them by a man of letters from Mar-
rakech, Ibn Al-Muwaqqit, Natijat al-^Cuûir,

/249 cont./

539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring.
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now
that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

[634]

2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anecdote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural
109 plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igeressuq, re-animated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

823 Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly re-
782 minds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the communal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive aqifed. If the bearer, on the way, has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid: fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

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/251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats between antithetical groups (1):

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1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still to-day of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, "with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa.

the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in names, legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

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A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

/306 cont./

776 The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, some-
 823 times that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to
 [1789] him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya,
 ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med
 u Ali are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the
 Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of
 irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.
 776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to
 the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral
 climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from
 it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type
 sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to em-
 184 body it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly
 619 contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the
 Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints
 776 abound. Here is sidi Nâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband
 184 of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for
 619 him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts
 825 for two doctors of Maâred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Abdelkâim who,
 again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane
 will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the
 plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in
 this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa"; the
 term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in
 776 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim
 184 n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest.
 619 Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents,
 so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously
 centralized on one heroine, Lalla Azîza, appears dryer, more
 organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons be-
 tween tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which
 only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be
 [181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would re-
 join a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa
 the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without al-
 ways being able to define it.

/316 cont./

212 that scripture is, the more or less occult utilization of the Arabic
794 formularies, finally a separate mode of life, in which the hands
are devoid of calluses, the face pale, the arms without muscles,
the body slender, the health precarious, all these traits make up
for the t't'aleb a physiognomy singularly ambiguous and power-
ful. Let us not speak of his habits, which have nothing to do
with the subject, except they sometimes constitute an additional
element of segregation.

212 In fact, very few of these scholars resist the temptation to
794 utilize their power. Sale of exorcisms or making up charms, that
• 789 is only the lesser evil, and this society, perhaps because it has
(688) no clergy, sees no simony in this. But there are white magic and
black magic; there are especially demonology and necromancy.
In common belief, the t't'aleb, after some success which he uses
for the realization of his appetites, is himself victim of the forces
that he has released. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, he is
henceforth dominated by these forces: demons command him,
and finally make him decline, leading him to a bad death or
precipitating him into error. It is thus all over for those who
frequent him or have had trust in him. The past, even recent,
of the Sous and of the Atlas would provide many examples of
these deviations. In general, they have taken the form of mani-
festations of fanaticism or indeed of messianism. To go back
only to the last independent amghar of the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa,
it was the t't'aleb-s of the Mentaga who, making demoniacal al-
liances glitter before him and promising him "mastery of the
hour," launched him on a hopeless adventure. Many anecdotes
of similar type could be reported. And certain ones even more
recent.

127 Here is a document emanating from a fqth, not from the
Seksawa at all, but from a closely neighboring montagnard tribe,
the Ergita, document acquired on the occasion of a judicial
action, autographic, and offering, from an ethnological point of
view, so much interest that we shall give it here in extenso. It
is a confession.

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/The rest of this section, except for the last three paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ Know that I left the mosque of X... in a turmoil and extreme anxiety. That in April, I remained in this trance more than four months. One day I saw a glimmering similar to that which the moon emits before the sun. When it came up to me, I set about proclaiming my prayer. "Very good," said a voice.

(212)
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A dream came to me in the mosque. Someone was telling me: speak to the /317/ t'olba ad-dawla. I then went to the mountains to relate my vision to the t'olba.

And he said to me, "Salvation upon the t'olba of Y." I remained there until he said, "Salvation upon you."

I then came to this spot about which the birds had spoken to me: "speak to your God at the mosque of Z..." I assented three times. Then I waited there until the approach of the Suq Tleta. It was then that a voice said to me: "Mbarek uld Brahim, leave the Tleta."

We set out with Si Ah'med ou Bihi. We found work and bastinado. We returned home.

The second Tuesday, we bought nothing at the market.

The 3rd Tuesday, I went to the market determined to accomplish this act. I then said to myself: "No," and returned to Z...

But that very night, I myself saw Him who said to me: "Why have you not executed my order?" Terrified, I awoke. My son was also terrified. I fell asleep again. My son became frightened a second time. His mother asked what it was.

I went to Si Moh'ammed N. and said to him: "What is this vision?"

A being spoke to me in the mosque and directed me to go to speak with the t'olba ad-Dawla. I then went to the mountains and told this to them (to the one in the zaouia and to another in Ichekad'en). "Last night he told me: 'Salvation upon you.' I saw a bird who called me to God. I told him 'yes.'"

(789)

-- "Do you then practice thaumaturgy?"
-- "No."

/320 cont./

159 generation of the saint of Asstif, died. He spent a large portion
792 of his life at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, where his intervention
[175] re-established harmony during a difficult succession of cheikh
/sheik/. It is known that this zaouia, revived by the teaching of
Timgilcht, and mother of several other zaouias of the plain, ex-
ercises a great influence in the mountains: notably upon the a.
Lh'sen, on the Tigguga, but also on the ensemble of the Seksawa.

What is remarkable about it, in the popular consciousness,
is that the holiness has been renewed there, in the course of
generations, and each time under a different figure. In the
[175] seventeenth century, sidi Saïd u Bubker, Orient sherif, joined
the Nâqirîan cycle, then at the height of its freshness. He was
such a just man that, when he circulated about, he muzzled his
donkey in order to avoid the slightest damage to others' fields.

[176] His grandson, sidi Ah'med u Ali, was a healer. He was called
the saint "of the bees," lwali n-tiz'z'wa. His bees plundered the
plain downstream. People from the distant Chichaoua came to
complain to him. "Mark them," he told them; they did this,
sprinkling the little animals with henna. The saint, then having
proof of the ta'addi, condemned the guilty ones to leave his
mountain. Above his tomb, overlooking the immense perspec-
tive of the Mez'ud'a and Ud Bessebâ plain, was erected a
madrasa, still famous, and which has hived off into the plain,
covering it with its subsidiaries — Bu^Canfir, Sa^Cîdât among others.
A scholar of the Italen, one qualified from Timgilcht, comes
from time to time to revive the old body. He is a purist Mussul-
man, anxious to spurn, against even his disciples, any miraculous
reputation. But it is not the same for one of the latter, from
Asstif, and who is the agurram sidi Mûh'ammad u Abdallah, on
the name of whom this digression opened.

159 This Seksiwi, he is not at all loath for miracles. It is
792 evening. The students are holding a session, and the lighting
789 of the hall falls to one of them. They did not inform the man
from Asstif that it was his turn to prepare the light. They
anticipate his confusion. But it is they who are going to be con-
founded, and edified: rubbing his finger against the mat

159 /320 cont./
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that carpeted the hall, he raised it and light was emitted from it. Prudent injunctions from the master were necessary in order to dissuade him from continuing the exercise of his karâmât.

159 /321/ Moh'ammed b. Abdallah was endowed with the gift of
792 clairvoyance. According to a well-established mystical tradi-
789 tion, his visions intervened during his sleep. The account of a
dream from 1312 Heg.: 1895, which permits him to converse with a deceased former Cheikh /Sheik/ and with the Prophet himself, is valuable. It is a fine text of Berbère /Berber/ religiosity, and all the more remarkable because it emanates from a personage from one of the most archaic cantons of our Seksawa. Its value as a spiritual sign, strong revealer of the atmosphere of these zaouias of the South and the mystical escapes that sometimes force their way through at some interstice of these closed societies, is remarkable enough that it might not be fruitless to give a partial translation of it below.

"I was in a half sleep. I saw myself in the mausoleum of sidi Ah'med u Ali, conversing with the blessed sidi Ah'med b. Mh'ammed, expert on questions concerning the zaouia. We felt the need to ask the opinion of the venerable sidi Mh'and. My companion called him, and sidi Mh'and appeared at the door. I embraced him, and he embraced me, as a friend does to a friend. He asked me, 'Are you a sincere friend?' I said I was. We then continued the discussion until I observed that the Prophet's presence was necessary in order for us to resolve a particular point. I called him three times, and we were dazzled by an immense flash, and such that each of us was constrained to shield his face with his hand. And the Prophet entered among us, by way of the outside door of the zaouia. My half sleep was illuminated by it. The Prophet held Abraham by the hand. They seated themselves beneath the window that faces East, and we placed ourselves in a circle around them. And the Prophet urged us to follow his path, and told us things that I have forgotten. Then Sidi Abdallah Frugi moved among us. He was dragging a sword as if he had just come from a battle..."

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/329 cont./

theology. The ensemble forms an eloquent, seductive, affable, conquering whole, quite in the Arab manner.

Nothing of the sort in the Seksawa society. The acts, arraten, rrusum, laql, constitute there the legitimating base and the ultimate recourse of all possession. The writing bears its force in itself, as worthless, as much a "scrap of paper" as it may appear. Perhaps because it extends the force of such individual attitudes: one has seen this in the case of the latir^{ca}. But moreover and especially because of its nature as writing. The verbal noun ara, "to write," is attested with the sense of "charm, talisman" in several dialects (1).

1. A Basset, "Six notes de linguistique berbère /Six notes on Berber linguistics/, " Ann.

* I. E. O., t. 5, 1939-41, pp. 16 sq., denies the nevertheless tempting relation between ara, "to write," and tiuri, "curse."

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The rural scribe, t't'aleb or lfqih, still today concurrently cultivates notarial activity and magical competence, at the same time that he exercises a municipal religious function, that of imam and schoolmaster. This characteristic pluralism has lasted up to our day. It reveals a confusion fraught with lessons between different orders of things that we would readily classify in strongly contrasted categories: official cult, communal organization, education of the children, notariate, more or less clandestine practice of magic. If one adds that Arabic, language of all these acts, has always kept in a certain measure the value of initiatory language and professional speech, one will measure the force that resides in these writings generously prodigalized today by the parties in the course of their litigations. Without exaggeration, one can estimate that, beyond its value as preconstituted proof, it is the act in itself that has an effect most often, ex opere operato, to speak like our Middle Ages.

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The very material of the title counts at least as much as its content. In proof, sometimes, of the perfect vacuity of the latter.

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/footnote 2 continued/ to which the customary codifications are consigned. The latter come to be designated under the name of "tables," without further allusion to the material of the instrument. Nevertheless this institution must be compared with the practice of the tabulae defixionis. In rites of spells in which the planchette, often covered with characters and wrapped in a shroud, is slipped into an old tomb.

The society that we are describing here knows only paper for what concerns the juridical acts.

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The geographical area of the acts on wood (probably pistachio wood, igg) seems to have for its center the tribe of the Ilalen. In the Ilalen of the East approximately half of the acts are drawn up on wood, the other half being drawn up on paper. In the tribe of the Ilalen of the West the proportion of the acts on wood /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ seems to be a little smaller. In the limit, the tribes one finds a variable proportion of acts on wood, but still very strong in the region of Timgilcht (Tafrawt) and Idaw Kensus (Ighezm). In the Ammeln, for example, few acts on wood. They are no longer found, to my knowledge, at Anzi, Ifran, Bu Izakam, or in the Haut Atlas, where paper has been generalized since the sixteenth century. The proportion of acts on wood seems hardly to have varied since an ancient period and to have remained fairly constant up to the establishment of the Tribunaux coutumiers.

is /381/ attested by all the old jurists of the South, who devote

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or lost in a group, in the plains, on the Dir, or in the mountains, in a region of difficult access or, on the contrary, on the course of a natural route /42/ of penetration. The social and political state of the tribe also makes its influence felt by imposing a great simplicity on the exterior appearance in the regions where republican institutions exist, while in the country of temporal leaders a taste for decoration and ornamentation develops. Nevertheless, in order to simplify, one can be content with essential distinctions and contrast the plains house to that of the mountains.

[789]

On the plains, in the Sous valley, in the land of the Chtouka and Haha, a type of one-story house predominates, made up of chambers that open onto the interior of a square enclosure. Exterior protection is usually ensured by a wall of beaten earth built with a rammer inside a wooden form (1):

1. Because of this construction process by means of a form made of boards (louh), the name of "louh" is often given to the wall itself.

the lower part of the wall is often made of stone, for it gives a better foundation for the whole, and, moreover, the work of thieves who pierce the walls at night is rendered more difficult; in some regions the wall is replaced by a hedge of jujube-tree thorns that exceeds two meters in height, while one or two watchtowers constructed at angles permit keeping watch; at the corners of the wall old pots overturned and bovid skulls ward off the evil eye and chase bad influences far away.

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The flocks are kept in the central courtyard, onto which open the various separate rooms of the house; in the middle of one side of the enclosure, a heavy door, closed by a wooden lock, flanked by wide masonry pillars, protects the entrance. This door opens into a low room used both as vestibule and storehouse.

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When the sons are married, each room is occupied by a household.

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[778]
[619] Séksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Tarouqant, Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Moussa of the Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus belong to very large social groups made up of one or several confederations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an enemy. Kuids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off their names before improvising their songs.

792
[619] The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term indicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble in cases of murder or theft.

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[789]
[778] Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their usefulness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the walnuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule, turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences. It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère /Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faithfully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, becomes manifest.

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178 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

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771 entirely: in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with
a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day
these survivals appear much more like traditions than like be-
liefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic
sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning
escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to
play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role
in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that
are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm
the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered
the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the
jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest
way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny
jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

562 The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
789 tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives,
regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and
mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death
or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/
ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful
at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret re-
cesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of
the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[779] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come
[787] from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by
Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing,
in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the
other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is
nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the tales of
the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them.

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789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

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1. Doutré, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

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In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony,

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initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

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XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Ma'qil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/.

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But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the knowledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

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replaced by that of "inflas" or "anfalis," which is the plural form of "anfous."

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Here it is easier to find the origin of this term. The "anfous" (1)

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1. Anfous, from the root Fls, to have confidence. (De Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, Vol. I. p. 228.) The Arab word "amin," used in Kabylie /Kabylia/, could be only the translation of the word "anfous."

appears to be originally a personage who possesses magical powers. Known also sometimes by the name of "amzwar" (2).

2. From the Berbère /Berber/ "Zwour," to precede. "The amzwar" is the one asked first to do an important or difficult act because he is a porte-bonheur.

it is he who proceeds with the first plowing so that the harvests will be favorable. At Massat, the sons of an "anfous" are thrown for an instant into the river each spring, so that the irrigation of the gardens will give good harvests. Likewise, there are "inflas lbaroud" for war, whose presence in combat is a promise of success. Again, it is "inflas el khir" who make the rain fall, and one even sees, among the Haha, this magical conception of the porte-bonheur take on the importance of a veritable institution in the life of the country; the confederation has its "inflas," who are the men of the Imgrad tribe; each tribe has its "inflas" chosen from a privileged "khoms" (3).

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3. Cf. Douité, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, supplement No. 1, p. 8.

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and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil," so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all things (4).

4. Cf. above, p. 259.

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sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role is indispensable. Among the Ait Amér, it is an "anfous" who must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anfous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless, the "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

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One may wonder whether these magical personages, without political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted, are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings," whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

1. Lâoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

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times. But one could imagine that the care of deciding the affairs of the tribe formerly belonged to men endowed with a magical authority, the "inflas el khir," and that little by little they were replaced in the bosom of the council by simple notables, powerful by their wealth or strong by their courage and the number of their brothers. To support this thesis, one might cite the presence, in the political assembly of the fraction, of counselors of "good augury," who are still found in our day on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the tribes of the Ergita, Mentaga, Imedlaoun, Alt Waggonson. There, as a matter of fact, the council is made up of two parts: one of them is constituted by the representation of the families according to turns rigorously set by tradition; the other brings together the "men of good counsel," old men who are clever and know the traditions, or men famous for giving advice favored by fortune. The latter, who alone, properly speaking, merit the name of "inflas," are there called the "Imeslaïn" (2)

2. Compare Huyghe, Dictionnaire kabyle-français /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, Paris, 1901, p. 224, "meslaie," to converse with someone about something, to speak.

or the "Imbarkiyn," and we see them intervene frequently in the deliberations and give their personal support to the moqaddems, presidents of the small independent republics of the Tichka.

Among the Ida Ou Tanan it is still "inflas el khir" who in the meetings disarm those who are cited before the "ajmo'a," general assembly of notables, and collect without shame the wages -- "outaïq" -- that the oldest or most respected men give them (3).

3. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 238).

Finally, elsewhere, such as in the Aghbar, among the Seksawa or

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*634 the Gedmiwa, these privileged inflas do not have /224/ magical
•789 powers; they appear to us to be no more than the aides of the
184 moqaddem, "awan," transmit his orders, give him advice, and
assist him in all circumstances. As proof of their devotion, they
deposit guns or daggers in the leader's house as a pledge.

*634 IV. The moqaddem. -- Each year the council of the canton
554 meets in order to receive the administration accounts of its president, the "moqaddem" (1).

1. From the Arabic "qeddama," to place in
front of oneself; literally, the one who is put
at the head.

and to proceed to the nomination of his successor. According to
ancient tradition in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the moqaddem
must be an effaced man who at every moment considers himself
the spokesman of the council. At his name indicates, he is only
the first of the "inflas," the one who precedes, who is placed in
front. For all important affairs he consults the heads of the "ikhs"
and the men of good counsel, and when he has to act unexpectedly,
he hastens to have his decision approved. Most often, he is
chosen by turn in each village, sometimes his name is drawn by
lot from among the heads of the "ikhs." In practice, however,
the role of the moqaddem has been greatly expanded; it is he who
is most often chosen as arbitrator in disputes. If the affairs presented to him are too complex, he names another arbitrator, a
stranger to the canton, or a cadi of the vicinity (2).

2. The cadi's decisions are often solicited by
notables who are afraid of getting an unfavorable sentence in their cantons, but who are, on
the other hand, strong enough to have the decision of an outside personage respected or executed in their village. Sometimes, too, the
judgment of the cadi is considered to be less